The bow and arrow. At this time the fiancé goes outside and invites his kinsmen to enter. The latter bring a bow and arrow. As soon as they arrive on the threshold, the one who leads them starts a song: "Mushe inama yandi, taibula mwine, walasa..." They all enter. The fiancé stands in the middle of the house drawing the bow and arrow; he is supposed to pierce a special mbusa which the women have fixed on the wall slightly above the place where his future wife is sitting. If he pierces the mbusa, there are shouts of joy: Here is a true fiancé, the girl will be his wife," etc. If he misses, the poor boy is subjected to an avalanche of scolding and cursing: "Chimbi chikesa" (There will be trouble in this household). In this case the fiancé has to submit to tests in order to show them his lack of success with the bow was due to bad luck.

Mwansa chembe (headdress of feathers). If the young man has succeeded in piercing the mbusa, the women take up another mbusa of clay which is set with plumes /ngala/. They use them to make a headgear for the fiancé while singing: "Wamumona Mwansa chembe, mulume wa ngala aisa...". This is to tell him that if he makes his wife suffer, so will he.

Chinungi (porcupine). The headgear is taken off and a mbusa which is a facsimile of a porcupine is brought up. This spiny mbusa is then attached to the fiancé's neck by means of a cord. The fiancé has to bend down while the women sing: "Chinungi, posa matamba, twairiwa ku isano." Then they take it off /kukobola/.

Nsensengwe. This is the fruit of a river tree which causes itching. The women knead this fruit and then rub it on the fiancée's arm with a little brush. From this moment on she ceases to be a young girl and becomes a woman (mukalamba).

Chitenge. This is a crossbeam attached to the roof inside the house. The fiancé is suspended from it and while he remains thus suspended /klapelela/ the women sing: "Lelo, atema pa chitenge," etc. He jumps down when the song is finished.

Mipeto (hoop). The women then make a circle around the fiancé with hoops. The fiancé takes some of the hoops and lets them roll towards his /217/ fiancée. The women sing: "Mulangire alole..." The

fiancé goes home. The fiancée gets up and jumps across several mbusa 881
to the approving shouts of the women.

IMMEDIATE PREPARATIONS FOR THE WEDDING. Questions and instructions. It is necessary to instruct the fiancée with regard to certain facts pertaining to marriage. Only a few women will be with her; other women wait outside and beat the drum in order to prevent any indiscreet ears from listening to what is said to the fiancée. The nachimbusa and the nakalamba, in particular, question the fiancée on certain details with regard to menstruation. The fiancée has to answer truthfully and make a full confession; a lie could be fatal in these circumstances. The women then give her whatever counsel and advice is deemed desirable.

Beer. Once the meeting is over, an invitation to drink beer is issued 881
/imalwa/. Everyone drinks beer: relatives, neighbors, friends. The 273
drinking and dancing last through the night.

Kuoa (the bath). At dawn the women accompany the fiancée to the 881
river; they take along some mbusa and sing: "Naya ku kuabika nkwa, 515
mairo kusala kuli ko." When they arrive at the river, they put the fiancée in the middle of the current, even if it is very cold. She has to stay there until the sun rises. The women then take her out of her river bed and wash her. They then braid the grass bracelets which they put around her wrists and ankles while singing: "This is how your [201] ●
husband will give you bracelets." They pick tall grass to make a kind of tuft /nsonshi/ from it, which they put on her head. While pouring water over the top of it, they sing: "Euma" (may she never be dry).

Ashes. When they return to the house, they find that the nakalamba 881
has swept away the ashes, which have not been swept since the fiancée started having her period. These ashes are thrown under a tree called mufungo, whose fruit is delicious. This is to insure that the marriage [824]
of the two be a good one /kunakilila/. Then a basket full of filundu (tree bark garments) is brought in. This is another of the fiancé's presents. The women rub the fiancée with oil until she is streaming. The fiancé does the same. Then the women dress the fiancée /218/ as well as her younger sister /nshindishi/ with all the filundu; this is the moment for presenting the gifts in the public square.

Mashikulo (presents). The fiancée, adorned in her most beautiful garments, is lead out from the bush; she is backed by women attendants who sing: "Waleleka, mayo, waemba, waemba mune." (Oh,

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

222
291
142
285
415
301
302
516

Rainy weather. The girls of the village off to gather mushrooms.
Men make the carrying-baskets.

[facing p. 42]

2 Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The finished pot set to dry before firing.

Making a cooking-pot.

The Bemba hearth.
(Photograph posed in roofless house.)

291
285
415
252
854
301
323
516

[facing p. 90]

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

252
415
301
291
342
516

Winnowing the grain.

Pounding the millet.

[facing p. 100]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

A young mother's pride in her first baby
(See p. 47)

[facing p. 48]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

291
301

Nangoshye, the mistress of the ceremonies. (Note the *mpande* beads described in song 39)
(See p. 61)

881
535

Chisungu solo dance outside a hut
(See p. 59)

[facing p. 49]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

881x
793
291
301
532

Nangoshye has modelled the crocodile ready for firing
(See pp. 102, 203)

[facing p. 64]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

X
881
516
●301

The 'father's sister' on whose back the fire-stick is rubbed, together with the girl's mother
'(See pp. 62, 77)

[facing p 81]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

881 533 778 and thus she hints that the time has come for her to be given to her husband. The song can apparently also be translated as 'Go and give me to my husband'.

[532]

Fig. 2. The necklet beads (2 forms—one representing the whole conus shell and one the triangular discs made from it to be used as beads of a necklace).

[301] *No. 39. The necklet bead (mpande)* (Fig. 2). Two forms are used in the chisungu ceremonies—the whole conus shell as shown in the drawing or a triangular section such as the Bemba regularly wear as neck ornaments. There are many historical associations with such shells. They are, for instance, placed on the body of the dead paramount chief when he is buried.

In the chisungu the model of the bead, strung on bark string, was swung to and fro by the mistress of the ceremony while the company sang:

[539]

Mpande yandi,	My mpande bead,
Yapona kwi sano.	It has fallen in the chief's court.

Interpretation. There was considerable unanimity in explanation here. Informants all agreed that the *mpande* represented the wife. If the husband has wronged his wife so that she runs back to her own family, then he has lost his head. To get his wife back he must approach his relatives-in-law with great circumspection and must bring presents as he would if he had let something fall in a chief's courtyard. This is a typical example of the allusive use of a couple of doggerel lines to refer to a marriage obligation. The *mpande* shell is also used as a vagina symbol in some parts of Africa. This meaning was not specifically mentioned to me by Bemba informants.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4
Ngoni FR5
Bemba FQ5

M 301 Necklaces, most commonly for children, are made of a number of little square pieces of hippo ivory strung together, ornamented with geometrical designs.

M 789 Medicine is often carried in a little packet suspended round the neck, as also charms of various kinds. The medicine may be some powdered charred roots or little twigs, leaves, etc., of some tree; these are sometimes now wrapped up in a Y [789] piece of paper on which is written some extract from the Koran (among Mohammedan Yao); this is then sewn in a little piece of calico and adorned with beads and suspended round the neck with a string.

Charms take various forms. Small pieces of wood or, to guard against attack M 301 by lion, teeth are worn. Armlets of the same kind are worn against sickness, and others are worn by Angoni, made of beads to which knives are attached. Bracelets of ivory, plaited grass and elephant tail hairs are also worn.

N 301 Metal and wirework bracelets are commonly worn by Angoni, also twisted wire finger rings and rings of lead and ivory. Heavy brass ankle rings and spiral brass leg and arm rings 6 inches and 8 inches wide are worn by some of the women (Atonga).

B 301 Bracelets cut from the nail of the elephant's foot are worn by Awemba hunters, and little finger rings cut from the scale of the ant-eater are worn as medicine against fever by headmen.

Belts made of wound copper wire are worn round the waists by Wankonde.

M 302 The use of pigments applied to the body is very limited. I have seen stripes of these, white and red, on the faces of young women, boys and dancers, generally M [439] after some ceremony. The significance I do not know. Pigments are now obtained from Indian traders, and I do not know how old the custom is. There is no beautification of face, body, nails, and eyes by pigments. The only application made to the skin is castor and ground-nut oils to keep it soft—no scents are used.

Clothing.

M Y N 291 [855] Among tribes of Nyasaland the amount of clothing worn varies very considerably from nothing to European garments.

Of the large majority, however, including Mañanja people, Yao and Angoni, one may speak generally.

The young children commonly run about naked, or have a strip of cloth covering the pudenda, supported by a string round the waist.

M Y N [556] Among the adult population the amount of clothing depends largely on the affluence of the individual, and those who cannot afford much have little clothing. A man wears a strip of calico supported in front and behind by a string round the waist, a woman a piece of calico 18 inches wide reaching from the middle of the thighs to the umbilicus.

Of the more prosperous, the men wear calico from a little below the knee to the waist, carefully wrapped round the body, and kept in position by some kind of belt; sometimes it is folded across the upper part of the chest or sometimes crossed over in front and two ends tied behind the neck.